1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

the breeze blowing from Niuatoputapu Island. This respectful manner of eating is assumed because Niuatoputapu is "chief" to Niuafoou: the chiefly house of Niuafoou once supplied a wife for the chief of Niuatoputapu. 604 602 264

It is tapu to touch the father's head or hair, to touch him while he is eating, to sleep on his bed or pillow, to partake of his food or drink, and to play with his belongings. The result of infraction, sickness and perhaps early death for the child, might however, be overcome by the father stroking the child's throat, head, or stomach; that is, the seat of the trouble that was believed to have arisen from an infraction. The tapu is weakened today. An informant of high rank who had been educated in Australia said he never touched his father's head, but that he would not hesitate to let his own son touch his. 593 784 [826] [755] [178]

A youth observes all the prohibitions with his father, but may take all sorts of liberties with his father's father. Thus he may wear his father's father's *vala* (garment), or eat his food. Toward the mother's father, the same license prevails. Collocott has described the privilege of eating the *fono* (relish food) which the grandchildren enjoy at the kava circle (15, p. 30). 603

The relation of the children to their mother is one of freedom from restraint and tapu. A Tongan explained this to me on the rationalistic basis—the child must have unrestrained access to its mother for the sake of nourishment. Towards the mother's sister the child's attitude is the same as towards the mother. The maximum of freedom, however, is found in the child's behavior towards the mother's brother and the mother's father. The child is *fahu* (above the law) to his mother's brother. 593 604 [603]

If a woman of high rank marries a commoner, their offspring treat the father and his brothers and sisters as though they were chiefs. Respect to the father and his siblings is enjoined regardless of rank, for relative to his offspring his rank is always higher, as head of the family. These same offspring of a woman of rank and of a man of commoner clay are perfectly free to act as they please toward their mother and her siblings. Towards their mother's brother they stand in the relation of *fahu*, even though their father is of inferior rank. 593 604 565

It is apparent that because of these relations between sex and age, no two individuals in a Tongan family are identical in rank. The situation is similar to that in the Japanese family, in which, as stated by Hearn (29, p. 80), "every person, from the youngest child up to the grandfather, was subject to somebody else." 593 [171]

The exactness with which members of a family are graded in rank is well shown by the following example: Two girls, Fakatoumafi and Ika, are 593 605 561 562

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

cousins, Ika being the younger. Their mothers are half sisters, having had one father but different mothers. Ika's mother is the superior of the two sisters apparently only because she is the older. But this superiority makes Ika superior to Fakatoumafi. When the two cousins bear children, it is not the relative age of the children, but the rank of their mothers, that will determine the superiority or inferiority of the offspring. So even though Ika is the younger of the two cousins, her children will rank Fakatoumafi's children. The children of Ika's older sister, however, will be superior to Ika's children because their mother is the older of the two sisters. But Ika's children will be superior to her older brother's children, and in fact to all of her brothers' children, because of Ika's superiority to all of her brothers—based on the principle that sisters rank brothers.

Concerning rank in relation to eating, P. A. C. (46, p. xv) in substance says the following: "It was forbidden to an inferior to eat or drink in the presence of his superior, and no one was allowed to eat before the Tui Tonga, who himself might not eat in the presence of the elders of his family." That this statement applies within the family as well as in society in general is obvious from the reference to the Tui Tonga and the elders of his family.

THE FAMILY, THE KEY TO TONGAN SOCIETY

Ranking of individuals within the Tongan family, termed *lahi* (abundance, plenty, greatness), is the key to the organization of Tongan society in every stratum. From bottom to top and from top to bottom of the social ladder one general scheme of family organization prevails. As the Tui Tonga is *ciki* (chief) to his younger brothers, so in every Tongan family the older brother is chief to his younger brothers. As the Female Tui Tonga is superior to her brother, the Male Tui Tonga, so in every family in the land the oldest sister is superior to the oldest brother. A common man's sister's children are *fahu* to him and may exact what they wish; the Tui Tonga was often *fahu* to the Tui Kanokupolu; and the Tamaha, the highest earthly dignitary, was always *fahu* to the Tui Tonga.

Relatively speaking, in every household there are chiefs and commoners. As in the family no two individuals are identical in rank, so in the enlarged family, with its greater number of degrees and consequent widening of the extremes. In reckoning the interrelationship of all the individuals descended from a common remote ancestor, the range in rank from the lowest to the highest becomes greater still, and the intermediate degrees of rank are exceedingly numerous. The fact that the Tui Tonga and his cooks (among the lowest of commoners) were blood relatives is an illustration. In brief then, a commoner is an individual who by virtue of descent through a series

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

DAUGHTERS AND SONS

Daughters are given much attention, especially by the mother's relatives. 593
The choicest horses, pigs, and other valuables are reserved for them, particularly for an older daughter.

Because a double standard of morality prevails, girls are strictly guarded, 562
boys are given great freedom. The term *manaia* (one who is unusually successful in love affairs) is often applied to the chief's son. (See also 41, vol. 2, pp. 157.) [622] [833]

As heir apparent to his father's position as male head of the family, 593
the first-born son enjoys a certain prestige. On Vavau Island, two places, 428
Makave and Feletoa, are traditionally associated with first-born sons. Near 349
the village of Makave is a coral wall called Kilikilitefua, some pieces not exceeding a man's foot in size, others too heavy for two men to carry. It is now dilapidated, but originally it was 250 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 5 or 6 feet high. Its origin is generally ascribed to a custom of the parents of every first-born son in Makave to carry a stone to the pile. No clear reason for doing this could be learned, except that of emulating a parallel custom said to have been practiced at the village of Feletoa, also in Vavau Island. At Feletoa the fathers of first-born sons struck the ground at a cer- 593
tain spot with the butt of a large stick (*tukitou*) of *tou* wood. The large [103]
depression traditionally alleged to have been caused by the poundings is called Tukitou.

BROTHER-SISTER TAPU

An outstanding feature of Tongan family life which seems to have 593
permeated society from the lowest stratum to the highest is the brother- 784
sister tapu, called by one informant *fakaapaapa*, a word with a wide appli- 605
cation, which means among other things "to reverence, to respect, to honor." The workings of this tapu are as follows.

Individuals who are brother (*tuongaane*) and sister (*tuofefine*), whether lineal or collateral, that is, whether true brother and sister or only cousins, may not be near each other in a house. If a man is talking to other women, his sister must not approach him, and if he is talking to them in a room she may not enter it. If a man were sitting in a house, his sister might enter, but might not sit near him. In the same way a man must not take a seat near his sister nor even enter the house where she is. It is improper even to mention a man to his sister. Usually brothers and sisters do not live in the same house after ten years of age; nor do they play together. If a boy approaches a house where children are playing and finds his sister there, he does not enter. Nowadays brother and sister may eat together

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

and may talk, but not familiarly. With aged siblings the tapu is somewhat relaxed. One informant said that a brother may cook food for a sister, but not the sister for the brother because that would look as though they were married. If a man came in from the bush very tired his sister might procure some food for him, but she might not nurse him when he was ill. A brother would not avenge the rape of a sister; the father or mother's brother would do that.

Some curious abrogations of the brother-sister tapu came to light. In one family a girl named Ika was so named by her paternal grandmother after her maternal grandmother and she thereby assumed the status of the grandmother, or perhaps of a mother, to her own brother. She can approach him freely, can tend him in sickness, and generally be with him without restriction by the usual tapu. In another family Tangakinakovi, daughter of the chief Veehala and wife of Luani, being childless, was allowed to adopt Taliauli, her full brother, all brother-sister tapu being disregarded.

Cross-cousin marriage, which seems to have been common, is a violation of the brother-sister tapu. Yet a decision reached in the family councils will do away with this tapu and a man and woman who could not come into close proximity to each other by their own initiative may be married by the will of those who have the ordering of them.

There are at times evasions of the tapu. Brother and sister sometimes do covertly converse. It is considered very bad form for anyone to notice this. During my sojourn in Tonga a man came to his *tuofefine* and asked for his shirt, which in all probability she had washed for him. A European standing near overheard the man ask and jocularly remarked that the girl did not have his shirt, but had given it away. The pair fled in dismay, for being *tuongaane* and *tuofefine* to each other, they had no right to converse. The European committed a serious breach of etiquette in noting that they were conversing.

Although the observances described are those of today, they undoubtedly give a picture of the past as well. Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 147) has the following to say:

> Every chief also pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister, which respect he shews in an odd way, but it is according to custom, viz., by never entering into the house where she resides; but upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned.

THE FAHU

As the sister is superior in rank to the brother, so also are her children, both male and female. Moreover, the sister's children are superior to the brother's children. The sister's children are *fahu* (Fijian *vasu*) to their mother's brother. They have the privilege of taking their uncle's goods,

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

also the goods of his children, either during his life or after his death. Even one of the uncle's wives might be appropriated. At the wedding of a man's child, his sister's children may help themselves to the presents. The brother's children must show respect (*fakaapaapa*) to the sister's children. The institution of *fahu* is a one-sided, non-reciprocal affair. The victims never have a chance to retaliate, but they exercise similar privilege towards their own mother's brother and his offspring. Towards one's *fahu* only respect and acquiescence must be shown. To appropriate the property of the *fahu* would be a serious breach of custom.

One chiefly informant remarked to me that he was lucky in having no closely related *fahu*, as he had no sister. He had, however, female cousins, whose children were *fahu* to him to a certain extent, but not like a real or great *fahu*. One such remote *fahu* visited this chief while I was with him, his father's brother's daughter's daughter. She did not have the privilege of a near *fahu* but must ask his permission before taking his property.

Radcliffe-Brown (48, pp. 543, 553, 550) records for Tonga that

> . . . the sister's son is permitted to take many liberties with his mother's brother, and to take any of his uncle's possessions that he may desire. And there also we find the custom that, when the uncle makes a sacrifice, the sister's son takes away the sacred portion offered to the gods, and may eat it.
>
> . . . The daughter's son must be honoured by his grandfather. He is "a chief" to him. He may take his grandfather's property, and he may take away the offering that his grandfather makes to the gods at a kava ceremony. The mother's father and the mother's brother are the objects of very similar behaviour patterns, of which the outstanding feature is the indulgence on the one side and the liberty permitted on the other.

The daughter's son may intervene in the sacrificial ritual in the same way as the sister's son, the behavior between the mother's father and the daughter's son being much the same as between the mother's brother and the sister's son.

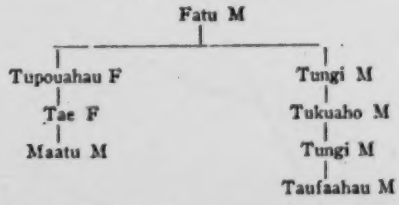
Liberties and jocular remarks may be indulged in with relatives through one's mother's brother, except where the brother-sister tapu interferes. Such liberties and remarks cannot be reciprocated, for the very reason that respect towards the father and his relatives is definitely enjoined, and especially towards the father's sister (*mehekitanga*) and her offspring.

Modern Tongan dictionaries describe the *fahu* as "one that is above the law," and the verb *fakafahufahu* as "to act as an outlaw." In actual practice the *fahu* (or *ilamutu*, to use the term of relationship) often did appropriate the property of his mother's brother (*tuasina*), who as a rule did not protest. At the kava ceremony the *fahu* ate the relish presented to his mother's brother. The grandchildren, also referred to as *fahu*, had the same privilege (15, p. 30).

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

recovered. When Lufe, the chief of the dead Tui Tonga's mother's family, learned of the king's death, he said: "The Tui Tonga is dead. He has died a bad death, for he is cut in two. Come and kill me and join my buttocks and legs to the Tui Tonga's trunk, so that the corpse may be complete." His relatives obeyed him. They slew him to make the Tui Tonga's body complete and then buried the remains.

The *fahu* relation while not exclusively limited to the mother's brother (*tuasina*) and his sister's children (*ilamutu*), may continue to subsequent generations, as the following genealogical diagram indicates.



Maatu has the right of *fahu* to Tungi the elder, to Tukuaho, and to Tungi the younger. Maatu and Tungi the younger are cross-second-cousins. Tukuaho was Maatu's mother's mother's brother's son, while Tungi the elder was Maatu's mother's mother's brother. To Taufaahau Maatu is not *fahu* because Maatu stands in the relation of "father" to him.

Frequently the right of the *fahu* is even more extended, and may give a chief of high rank the right to help himself to any property he wishes in an entire district controlled by chiefs to whom he is *fahu*. For example, all of the living descendants of the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho, who was assassinated in 1799, are said to be *fahu* to the chiefs and commoners of the lineage Haa Ngata Motua of the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. The reason for the *fahu* relationship is that Tukuaho's mother was Lepolu, the daughter of Laakulufoohake, who was the son of Atafakahau, who in turn was the son of Kaumavae, the son of Ngata (the eponymous ancestor of the Haa Ngata Motua and the first Tui Kanokupolu, who held office in the first half of the seventeenth century. In other words, Tukuaho's mother was of the Haa Ngata Motua, and being "sister" to all of the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs, her son and his descendants are *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and people. Thus the present Tui Kanokupolu Charlotte is *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua. The principal other living *fahu* of the Haa Ngata Motua are (a) Tungi, the prince consort, who is *fahu* through both his father and his mother, and consequently ranks highest among the *fahu;* (b) Haamea, the son of the present Ulukalala, who is *fahu* through both his father and his mother, but who is of lower rank than Tungi's mother. Tungi and his mother are also *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Tupu of Vavau.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

A chief's son was never operated on alone but always with companions. There was no special tapu connected with operating on a chief's son.

The man performing the operation was called *faikaukau* or *faitefe*. He was not a chief's appointee. The only factor in determining who could be an operator was skill, involving such factors as a cool head, steady hand, previous experience, and that type of personality that tends to inspire confidence. The operator would never be the initiate's brother or cousin, but might be his father, uncle, or any other elderly man reputed for skill in the community. An informal council of interested fathers selected the operator who was to officiate.

Preceding the operation the boys bathed themselves thoroughly in the sea. This bath was called *fufulu*. After drying on a tapa towel, they were brought one at a time to the place of operation. This was usually situated outdoors under a large shady tree, the species of tree being of no importance. The spectators were the adult male relatives of the initiates. The rock, mat or large tree root on which each boy sat naked is called *hekehcka*. The operator sat on the ground in front of the boy in the usual tailor fashion of Tongan men.

The cutting instrument now used is a razor. Formerly it is said to have been a bamboo knife or sharp shell. A piece of unprinted or uncolored tapa (*fetaaki*) is now wrapped round and round the razor blade, leaving only the tip of the blade exposed. The following is a description of the operation:

A piece of bamboo was placed over the head of the penis, the foreskin drawn down over this, then the operator, with one quick stroke of the razor, or more if necessary, slit the foreskin throughout its entire superior length.

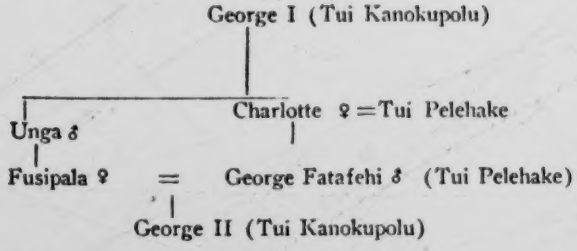
Then the operator chewed the leaves of a fern called *laufale* and squeezed some of the juice of the masticated plant on to the incision. The cut foreskin being doubled back around the medial portion of the penis was wrapped with the leaves of *kavakava-ulie* from which the large fibers had been extracted. The whole was well bandaged with unprinted tapa. A girdle of this material was passed about the waist and between the legs to hold the penis against the belly. The wound was dressed twice daily.

The boys, having all been operated on, were confined in a house together. No one might visit them, but their adult male relatives. Food was brought to them. They could leave the house only to defecate and urinate. The operator instructed them in the tapus they were to follow. They were told not to think of women. If one suffered from erection, he pulled hard at a piece of rope (called *tukutaoperanga*) suspended from the rafters and the erection left him. Other tapus forbade the eating of anything sweet, the drinking of anything but water, and only one cup of that a day, the eating of anything red, at the present day the eating of any tinned goods, the taking of a bath for five days and nights, and the performance of any heavy work or walking.

In urinating the patient squatted down on his left knee, the right knee high, the body bent low over the right knee, the weight of the body supported by the right hand, while with the left hand he served himself. This position prevented the urine from running back on to the erectly held penis. If it should run back on to the penis, a swelling is said to have resulted. This caused extreme pain and even loss of life. It was called *mimi* and the squatting position described above was called *mimifakatafitafi*.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

(p. 281). An example of marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter follows. It is said that the other form of cross-cousin marriage, i. e., to the father's sister's daughter, occurred, but was rare.



Cross-cousin marriage is metaphorically called *takaifala* (rolling up mats), for it is said of the woman that she goes to roll up the mats of her father's sister's son. In cross-cousin marriage it was the sister's child who held the higher rank in the marriage on account of being *fahu* to his spouse. Cross-cousin marriage is to-day called *mali* (English marry) *fatongia* (duty); that is, a marriage of duty, referring to the duty of the brother's children to look after the sister's children.

A *fokonofo* is a supplementary wife or concubine brought by a bride to her husband. Should a bride select her *fokonofo* from within the family, which was the custom, they were either younger sisters, persons from the inferior or mother's side of the family, or the daughters of the father's younger brothers; apparently the daughters of the father's sisters who were superior relatives could not be taken by a bride as *fokonofo*.

The *sinifu*, or concubines, of a great chief usually occupied a single large house, where they might be visited by the chief, or whence they might be taken to the chief's house. At the chief's house lived his favorite or the wife of highest rank (*maitaki*). The term *sinifu* refers to the relation of the woman to the man, while the term *fokonofo* refers to the relation of the inferior co-wife to the superior co-wife.

Open conversational flirtations were the prevailing form of social intercourse between a man and a single woman, but never openly between a man and another man's wife. There was no indiscretion, however, in a man's making a social call upon a woman at her house while her husband was absent. The house door was always open while any of its occupants were at home, except on occasions when some peculiar tapu might rule otherwise.

When a man met a beautiful unmarried girl on the road, it was customary for him to carry on a flirtatious badinage of words with her in addition to the ordinary greeting. He could tell whether she were unmarried if she

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

[Ata Island]

582

98-99: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
102-103: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
104-105: Man to mother's father's paternal half brother's daughter.
109-110: Man to mother's paternal half sister's son's daughter's daughter.
125-127: Man to father's sister's daughter.
134-135: Man to mother's brother's daughter.
165-166: Man to father's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.

In addition to the following marriages of blood relatives which the genealogy shows, there is one case of a man (14) marrying his stepmother (7) and one case of a man (13) marrying two sisters (12 and 16). Of the twenty-six marriages of relatives nine are of cross-cousins. Seven of the cross-cousin marriages are of a man to his father's sister's daughter, two to his mother's brother's daughter. There is one example of parallel cousin marriage (70-71).

The institution of the *vasu* evidently held with as much force in Ata as in Tonga proper, for informants said that of the two persons, Laufilitonga (mentioned above) and his sister Takumua, that Takumua was superior in rank and that her children were superior to those of her brother Laufilitonga. In fact, Laufilitonga's children had continually to go into the bush and secure food for the children of Takumua. Even to-day the descendants of Takumua rank higher than the descendants of Laufilitonga.

604 593 605 [184]

There were three gods recognized on Ata, two of them apparently from early times, one of them from about the middle of the nineteenth century. Faikavakisia, a male deity, had a sanctuary in the eastern part of the village of Kolomaile. The priest of the god is said to have borne the same name. Tui Tofua, presumably the well known Haapai god, had a sanctuary in the southern part of the town of Kolomaile. His priest was also known by the name of Tui Tofua. It seems likely that the introduction of the worship of this god may be attributed to Tameifuna, the Haapai colonist. From the present holder of the title of Leha, carpenter to the Tui Tonga, I obtained the following account of the arrival of the third god, Moalaleki, in Ata.

184 776 [778] [793] [778] [793]

Moalaleki was the god of the village and fortress of Pea, Tongatabu. In the year 1852 the god became angry because the cup of kava of a warrior named Sialevailea was given to another warrior. Thereupon, the god deserted Pea and went at once to Ata, taking with him a root (*ulo*) of kava. With the departure of the god from Pea, misfortune fell upon the town, for that very day the Tui Kanokupolu George I laid siege to it with his Methodist army.

[276] 669 [798]

When the god arrived in Ata he found the chiefs assembled inside a house wishing that they had kava to drink (kava was already grown in the island). Suddenly the god dropped the kava root from the roof of the house to the floor. Thereupon the chiefs said to one another, "We wish we had more kava. This is only a small quantity; too small to make a drink for us all." Then the god said from above, "It is small, but it is strong (*latea*)," expressing the idea in poetry as follows:

[539]

Oku sii pe ka oe latea — It is small but it is strong
Koe kava na'e o Pea — The kava was formerly of Pea
Koe ha'u mei pe kolo tautea — It has come from the punished town.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

told the people that the gods wished pigs and other food, and when they saw the priest shaking they knew the god wanted something. There is no descendant of the present Toke living in Moungaone to-day. Kava Moungaone is the chief of Moungaone, and the two gods were his patrons.

A third deity of Moungaone was the fish god Fakapatu (26, p. 81).

Deities of Nomuka Island

Folautaofi was a god of Nomuka living in a hill called Fungaholu. The people prayed to this god and if anyone was sick, a person of his family sacrificed a little finger to the god. If a boat came from another place and then wanted to return but could not because of strong wind, the people thought it was because the god was living in the top of the mast of the vessel. The mast was then taken down, when the wind quieted and the sea became smooth, so that they had a good day to go, the mast was set up again. In the hill is a big hole with many human bones. It is thought that Folautaofi lived in this hole and ate men. The "boat" of the god was the *kakafatu*, a shellfish which is not eaten by the people.

Fehuluni, a deity who appears in various parts of the kingdom, is a frequenter of Nomuka especially (p. 292).

Deities of Uiha Island

Of the several deities of Uiha concerning whom I obtained information, Hikuleo (p. 292) and Tokeimoana (9, p. 234) have been to some extent described. Tokeimoana (Eel-in-the-ocean) became incarnate in the eel, as his name implies.

Tokeimoana's house, called Hakaumama (Reef-of-the-world), was in the bush on a tract called Fongolongo. A priest named Hakaumama lived there and was fed there and told the people whatever the god wanted. Sometimes the priest would say to the people, "The god has arrived and is desirous of dining on pork." Thereupon the people would bake a pig and give it to him. Or he would demand some tapa; whereupon they would cut off a piece and give it to him.

When there was any sickness, a healthy man or woman was brought to the priest to have a little finger amputated and taken to the god's house and offered as a sacrifice. The person selected was a child of the sick person's mother's brother (*tuasina*), in other words, an inferior cross-cousin. Some of the sick got well.

Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) and his family bowed down before the god Tokeimoana. They were forbidden to eat sea eel, but the people who were not worshippers might eat it. The people who worshipped this god had to lie exposed on the spot where the eel had been broiled or baked even if the fire was still burning. If they knew it was the place where their "god" had been killed they would go off in another direction so as to avoid coming close to it. Whenever the eel in which the god was incarnate crawled about on dry land, the people assembled at the god's house and talked to it and when it returned to the water they left.

Haveakai was another Uiha god but was worshipped only at Felemea. The priests of this god, after conversion to Christianity, bore the name Malakai. I could not learn the Tongan name. The priest is said to have manifested the usual trembling when the god entered him. People near death were brought to him and finger sacrifices offered by some one of the sick person's relatives. So far as I can learn the operation of cutting off a finger joint was never performed by the priest himself, but always by one of the supplicants. The informant did not know what animal constituted the "boat" of the god. Offerings of food brought by the people to this god would be completely consumed by Malakai, if he were inspired, or as the Tongan informant put it, he could

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

POEMS RELATING TO DEATH

Fortunately, accounts of the burial ceremonies of great chiefs before ancient practice had been modified by Christianity have been preserved. Those of the London Missionary Society's missionaries (40), who landed in Tonga in 1797, arrived shortly before the death of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui (Apr. 29, 1797). Mariner has described the burial of his friend and protector, Finau. Finau's daughter died shortly before her father, and the rites in connection with her burial are also described (28, vol. 1, pp. 296-299, 310-329). Good examples of the wailing (*tangi*) raised immediately after a death is also given by Mariner (28, vol 1, p. 134; vol. 2, chapters I, V).

Burial usually follows soon after death; but special affection or honor was sometimes shown to the dead by keeping the body unburied for a long time. Sometimes, it would seem, the body thus kept was put into a sort of coffin. I have heard such a funerary casket described as *vaka* (boat or canoe), a striking term. In all probability the coffin was actually a boat. Embalming was seldom, if ever, resorted to; and when the putrefying body became offensive it was referred to as *namu kakala* (fragrant smelling).

The most remarkable monuments in Tonga are the Trilithon, Haamonga-a-Maui, in Heketa, eastern Tongatabu, and the stone-faced burial vaults of great chiefs, especially of the Tui Tonga, most of which are also in eastern Tongatabu. These are terraced, rectangular mounds, of one to five tiers. On the island of Niuafoou is a burial mound of rather different shape, being roughly oval, though it is so overgrown with scrub that it is difficult to get a precise idea of its shape. It is about 40 yards long, and 3 or 4 feet high, faced with rough blocks of stone. Its shape would be more perfectly oval were it not that the roughness of the masonry makes angles. This is the burial ground of high chieftains, but is not treated with the respect that would be anticipated. People sometimes cut firewood from it today. They say that the chiefs buried there are not *pauu*, mischievous, to them. This modern rationalism, however, is not approved by all the elders. More strictness is observed in cleaning this cemetery, the work being never undertaken except at the bidding of one of two chiefs, neither of whom lives in the island. Doubtless they are both *fahu* to the chiefs buried there. (Relatives of superior social rank are *fahu*, especially one's sister and father's sister, and their children.) The following poems contain references to the ghost ship from Pulotu, and to other ways of reaching Pulotu. Pulotu as the far-off island, however, seems to have been most prominently in the people's belief, as there is a very substantial agreement among observers who had the opportunity of learning the conceptions of the Tongans before they were influenced by Christianity. Vason (37, p. 150) relates that Tongans, conversing about one who had lately died, said "he

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
0U9 Tonga 0U9
Vavau
Pangai

582 and because of a considerable freedom in inter-village visiting, there is a strong tendency for mates to be chosen from villages other than Pangai. However, although mates chosen from local Pangai girls are in a bare minority, there are nonetheless frequent instances when Pangai men marry Pangai girls.

Cross Cousins

582 565 Cross-cousin marriage is not uncommon among the chiefly and noble class in Tonga. There is no record of such marriage however, among any of the married couples in Pangai.[22] None of our informants in this commoner village would ever entertain the idea that it was a possible pattern of marriage-relationship. They all felt it impossible for 582 565 602 605 them, whatever might be the customs of the nobles, because of the fact that there is strong kinship-avoidance from puberty onward between those classed as cross-cousins, and none would feel happy in breaking down this attitude of avoidance in the intimacies of married life. This suggests the point that cross-cousin marriage among the noble class [152] might well result in acute psychological conflict brought about by the clash of incompatible attitudes: a *tapu* on intimacy between these cousins up to marriage, the necessity of breaking down this *tapu* when marriage occurs. The acuteness of this conflict would obviously depend on the strength with which kinship-avoidances are inculcated in the minds of the young, especially in the minds of those for whom parents contemplated a cross-cousin marriage. Possibly the culture elaborates some fiction to take care of this problem, but there are no hints in the literature to suggest what form 582 565 this fiction might take. In any case, the culture of the commoner can side-step such possible conflicts because of the fact that it refuses to countenance cross-cousin marriage.

Marriage Ceremony

585 178 The patterns governing the marriage ceremony in the village today show a natural blending of the old and the new.

[22] Cross-cousin marriage, according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 16) "was practised, especially among people of rank." He adds that "such marriages were no doubt common . . . in the rank and file of the Tongan population."

585 the house. On these mats are sitting the groom's mother's
585 brother (his *fa'e tangata*, called at this time his *fa'e huki*,
604 "lap mother"), and the bride's mother's younger sister. The groom sits in the lap of his mother's brother, the bride in the lap of her mother's sister. They continue to sit thus until the *kava* drinking is finished.

585 *Kava* is made and drunk with special ceremony. The
276 bowl is placed before the bride and groom. It is the largest possible bowl and in front of the bowl is the largest possible root of *kava (kava toho)*.[23] The *kava* and the accompanying food are provided by the fathers of both bride and groom. Four men out of the group of those present (termed collectively *tou'a*) are selected to prepare the *kava*-root. The root is cut carefully into three sections. The middle section
[777] is laid aside because it brings bad luck to use it. From the two end pieces, the drink is prepared after these pieces have been scraped and cleaned. Two sets of pounding-stones are set on two mats and two men of the group of four slowly pound the *kava* root into small pieces. The groom invites an expert to make the *kava*. He sits before the bowl and prepares the drink from the root as it is passed to him by the pounders. The expert makes great display of skill as he goes through the routine of *kava* making.

585 When the *kava* is ready, the person who is presiding over
276 the circle calls for the *kava*-relish *(fono kava)*. The largest
574 pig *(puaka toho)* is divided in such fashion that the back is
262 presented to the bride's father's sister's child (the bride's *fahu*) and the remainder is divided equally among all the
[605] other members of the *kava* circle. Food from the oven is also divided among all those present. Neither pork nor other food may be eaten at this time. It is taken home and eaten after the *kava*-drinking is finished. Now the *kava*-cups are called and after the first round is finished the bride and groom leave the group.

[804] [23] *Kava* roots are classified in size and named with the same size terms that are applied to pigs. Thus there is *kava toho, kava hula, kava ha'amo, kava fuataha*, just as there are pigs—*puaka toho, puaka hula*, etc. A feast at which a pig of the largest size is served, a *puaka toho*, must also serve a *kava toho, kava* of the largest size, and so on in gradations for size of pig, size of *kava* and status of feast.

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

called *fokonofo*. The Tongan creation myth relates that when the gods were first a-courting, and the world was in course of coming into being, one of the goddesses secured as *fokonofo* for her husband two of her sister divinities, and tradition ascribes to the ancient king Tui-ta-tui, wives so successfully zealous in adding to his harem, that even Solomon's household does not appear by comparison the outstanding achievement that the unenterprising European might regard it. 622 595 [773]

The chiefs were said to have a pre-emptive right to all the women in their tribes. In theory the chiefs had the absolute disposal of the persons and property of their people. Stories are related of the king Tukuaho—not the diarist—which show the harsh caprice with which a great lord might treat his people, as, for example, when he ordered the hands of his cooks to be cut off because they had prepared his food badly; but the murder of this tyrant after less than three years of his sullen rule shows that, in Tonga as elsewhere, natural human reactions impose practical checks on theoretical absolutism. Evidently the chiefs freely used their privileges in love, but there is no reason to suppose that the lower orders of society were thereby deprived of mates. Intrigue with the wife of a superior, however, was a very grave breach, and might even lead to the man being killed by his own people, without waiting for the vengeance of the chief. On the other hand there is a story of a king who left his wife and babe in charge of another man whilst he went on a voyage, but found on his return that the pair had abused his trust. He forgave them both, and gave the lady as wife to his unfaithful friend. 622 [837] [421] 643 [687] 622 837 [684] 837

Cousin marriages are rare. Brothers and sisters are called by the same term as first cousins, and more distant collateral relatives. All these "brothers" and "sisters," near and remote, are alike *tabu* to each other. There are restrictions, on the whole well observed, but weakening in these latter days, on the most ordinary intercourse between youths and girls so related. More liberty in the matter of cousin marriages is accorded the great chiefly families than to commoners, and a cousin marriage (probably when it does happen a mating of rather distant cousins) amongst the lower orders of society is spoken of as an imitation of the chiefs. In the days when the Tui Tonga chieftainship flourished there was a well established custom for him to take as his principal wife, and the mother of his successor, the daughter of the Tui Haatakalaua, the chief next in rank to the Tui Tonga. At a later period, when the Tui Haatakalaua chieftainship had declined before the growing importance of the Tui Kanokupolu, the daughter of the latter lord used regularly to become the principal wife of the Tui Tonga. This resulted in the cross-cousin marriage of the Tui Tonga to his mother's brother's daughter. 582 [601] [602] [603] [393] [565] 643 581 582

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

success in love in the case both of boys and girls. The severed cord, as Mr. McKern has informed me, is carefully buried in some recognizable place, e.g., in a mound if there be one conveniently close, or the spot may be marked by planting a tree or shrub.

SOCIAL TABUS

Social life is guarded by tabus which in their most general form forbid an inferior to touch his superior. Dr. Martin remarks (in Mariner's *Tonga*), "Every chief also pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister, which respect he shows in an odd way, viz., by never entering the house where she resides; but upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned." This tabu noted by Mariner between brother and sister is not confined to the eldest sister, but is general. "Brother" and "sister" are of course misleading terms if understood with their English connotation. Distant cousins are included, and "collateral relatives" would better translate the Tongan words. But using "brother" and "sister" with the breadth of the corresponding Tongan terms we find that brothers and sisters are tabu to each other. A brother, if he enter a room where his sister is sitting, must keep at a distance from her, and so of the sister coming upon her brother. If a man is sitting talking to other women his sister must not approach the party at all. This tabu upon the intercourse of brothers and sisters is not entirely incompatible with cousin marriage, which may take place with the approval of the relatives on either side whose prerogative it is to secure a match for the couple concerned. When the match has been arranged the hitherto tabued "brother" and "sister" may be brought together and mated. Quite recently a youth and maid, distantly related, set their affections on each other, but when their love, which was very innocent, became known the relatives failed to smile. The girl's real brother in particular professed himself filled with shame, and the unhappy swain carried his embarrassment and stricken heart to another island. Tongan resentment, however, is short, life has resumed its normal course, and the youth has returned, though he appears to have left his unlucky passion in the place of his temporary exile.

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

The form of cousin marriage most favored is that of a man to his mother's brother's daughter, though other forms are possible. None of these relationship terms must be understood as connoting necessarily the same closeness of connection as in English. Cousin marriages are more common amongst chiefs than amongst the rank and file, and it is said indeed that when such marriages occur amongst the people it is in imitation of the chiefs.

Considering the social status of women the foregoing tabu between brother and sister may be part of the general system wherein the superior is tabu to the inferior, though old legends make it more probable that, at least in comparatively ancient times, the safeguard was against incest as such, though this is not in itself necessarily the explanation of the origin of the very stringent Tongan sentiment against marriage of close relatives. With reference to the expression "close relatives" a Tongan once remarked to me, "We count as closely kin those whose common ancestry is even four generations back."

A tabu still regarded is that of not eating or drinking the remains of food or drink of a superior. The penalty for the violation of this rule is a sore throat, which can, however, be cured by being stroked by the superior whose victuals have caused the trouble, or by one of still higher rank. A person suffering from a sore throat, which he suspects to have been caused in this way, will take a short cut to cure by resorting at once to the highest chief available. In earlier days the cure used to be effected by an application of the chief's foot to the sore spot, but the hand has been found equally efficacious and is now usually employed. Should anyone desire to help himself from the platter of a superior the unseen powers may be cheated by a little simple collusion. After the inferior has helped himself to the tabued viands an immediate application of the superior's hand will ward off all unpleasant consequences. It is in the item of drinking a coconut after another that this tabu seems to be most regarded, possibly because sharing a coconut is fairly common, but more probably because the coconut, being completely closed round but for one small opening, is a peculiarly fit receptacle to retain the influence emanating from the drinker. A similar idea to this is found in Fiji and will be noted later.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

MACHIKO AOYAGI

Maternal uncle (fa'e tangata) and nephew and niece (ilamutu)

Even today the *ilamutu* has the privilege of making free with a *fa'e tangata*'s possessions. A man of about sixty years old told me that he had taken a bicycle, pigs, yams and so on from his four *fa'e tangata*. All his *fa'e tangata* have passed away now, but he is still able to take similar things away from their children if he wishes. Conversely, he has several *ilamutu* of his only sister. He always locks the door of his house while he is out, for fear that the *ilamutu* should come and take away what they want. *Ilamutu* have freedom also towards *fa'e tangata*'s wife from whom they can get bark clothes or mats without permission. But if she is not a good natured woman, they cannot make free with her own property.

Cousins

The *fakafotu* have to observe *tapu* towards *mehikitanga*'s children, too. But the *tapu* in this case is not so strict as towards the *mehikitanga*. According to the explanation given by an old man, cousins may play together in their childhood, but brother's children may not strike sister's children and not touch their head or possessions. On the other hand, sister's children may take what they want away from brother's children and eat the foods they leave over.

Husband and Wife

There is no *tapu* between those who are denoted under the term *mali* each other. Those two persons who are not real husband and wife, may stay in one room together, talking about anything.

Matapule

A woman and her brother's wife may not use clothes, bark cloths, combs, mats and so forth in common. They may beat bark cloth in company and use a beating bat in common. If one were ill and there were no one to nurse, the other may care for her but it is *tapu* to attend her at the time of delivery, and to suckle her baby even if the mother can not nourish it on her own milk.

VI — Actual Behaviour in the Interpersonal Relationship

Variation in the Behaviour

When we ask the Tongan about the kinship behaviour they should observe, they mention so and so, as described in the previous chapter. People are very proud of the custom that a brother should respect his sister, saying "This is *fake Tonga*, Tongan way." As one might suspect, there seems to be a little difference between the norm and the actual behaviour. My interpreter used to say "If a man is properly reared in Tongan way, he has respect for and supports his sister." But the norm has been losing its strictness; a man, once married, will no longer bring his sister food, money or anything she pleases, in preference to his wife.

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45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 009 Tonga 009
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

While I was staying in the village, a quarrel occurred between a man and his classificatory sister who were the second cousins. The reason for their quarrel is as follows: Two girls (H and V) in the village had the same boy friend. The woman (A) took the side of V, although her brother's (B) wife (C) took the side of H, and there was a dispute between them. Then A's adopted son (D) of six years old hit B's son of two years old. Getting angry, B hit D back. So A went to law with B, and B sued D for his violence. Since then, A, B and C, who are next door neighbours, have remained unfriendly.

There is much more emphasis on correct behaviour in the case of a real and direct relationship than a classificatory one. For example, the brother-sister *tapu* is most strictly observed, but between cousins (classificatory brother and sister) it is sometimes relaxed. Sometimes cousins joke and laugh in loud voices in a way that is never found in the real sibling relationship. And one dares not employ his *ilamutu* privilege towards the classificatory *fa'e tangata* so freely as towards his real mother's brother.

Next we shall examine a few practices in connection with kinship behaviour.

The Place to Sleep

It is said that the brother and the sister do not live usually in the same house after ten or twelve years of age. In this village there are only two wooden houses having more than two rooms and the remainder are the houses, each with only one room. A boy who reaches about the age of ten is supposed either to build a hut or find some other place to sleep. Out of 33 households ten have boys and girls who are older than ten years. These ten households are grouped into four according to the place where the boys sleep.

(a) in the main *fale mohe* with sisters ... 3 households
(b) in another *fale mohe* ... 5 households
(c) in *fale kai* ... 1 household
(d) some brothers in another *fale mohe* but others with sisters ... 1 household

One of (a) households has a large wooden house, permitting the boy to sleep in a separate room from his sister, so that this case may be added to (b).

Out of 19 boys 14 sleep apart from their sisters. Sometimes a little boy of six years old sleeps with his elder brothers, thus separated from his sister and parents. Among five boys who share the room with the sisters, three are eleven years old or over. The oldest boy, the second son of 9, is already married and lives with his father and sister of twelve years of age in his fatherm's house. A fourteen years old boy is the eighth son of 5; his elder brothers are all married. He stays with his parents and his sister of thirteen years of age in the same house. An eleven year old boy is the first son of 3 who sleeps with his parents and elder sister of twelve years old. So the age of girls sleeping in the same room with a brother

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621 At the time of the census of 1956, however, there were 147 households, and Motulahi was then one of only three villages in the whole of Tonga with a population of more than one thousand. This growth is remarkable, notwithstanding the overall growth of Tonga's population during the same period and the general movement to Tongatapu, for these are but a fraction of the rate of increase in Motulahi.

622
621 The growth of Motulahi's population can be accounted for in large part by reference to the policies and practices of Sione Fatu, who was Haveatungua from 1916 to 1962. Sione Fatu succeeded his father at about the age of [597] sixteen. His three younger brothers were adopted by his [484] father's sister and lived with her in Vava'u and Nuku'alofa, but Sione Fatu was sent abroad to be educated at a grammar [605] school in Australia. During that period and for some years after that he was represented in Motulahi by Finau, who was the son of one of his father's sisters. (It was Finau who gave Pulotu permission to settle in Motulahi in 1919). It is not clear for how long Finau was in charge of Motulahi nor the nature and extent of his authority. Some informants speak more of the power of the petty chief Paluvalevale. It is said that Paluvalevale gave some people permission to farm on his land until they were granted land of their own, whereas Finau acted only as an agent for the noble.

While it was not until the early 1940s that Sione

612 tially a localized group, most of whose members live in the
621 same village. Like the household unit, the fāmili is a
[602] group that includes affines. And finally, in contrast to the ascriptive nature of the kainga relationship, fāmili membership is one of the most important areas of optation in Tongan society.

Fāmili Membership

The fāmili has some structural features that make it look like a non-unilinear descent group and others that make it look like what Davenport (1959) calls a 'stem kindred'. However, the fāmili could also be described simply as a loose association of households linked by
[593] consanguineal ties among some of its members. The core
[605] or 'stem' of the membership of any one fāmili consists of a number of adult individuals in the village, both male and female, who are related to one another as siblings or as the descendents of siblings. The total membership of a fāmili includes these individuals, their children and grandchildren, the spouses of these people, and any other persons who are more than just transient members of their households. But it must be understood that the criteria of membership in the fāmili are not at all rigid. A person could be affiliated with any fāmili to which he or she is able to claim a kin tie, even if the genealogical connection

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

Behavioral correlates for the named kin types can be summarized as follows:

Avoidance—demanded of siblings and parallel cousins of opposite sex (i.e., between *tuofefine* and *tuonga'ane*) and all cross-cousins related through the father (i.e., those whom your father calls *'ilamutu*).
Near equality—among siblings and parallel cousins of the same sex (i.e., *tokoua*).
Restraint and obedience—demanded of males and females to *mehikitanga*.
Welfare and direction—demanded of *tamai* to their *'ofefine* and *foha*.
Satisfaction of wants, familiarity, and warmth—demanded of *fa'ē* to *tama*.
Demanding and demeaning—appropriate of males and females to *fa'ē tangata* and cross-cousins related through the mother (i.e., whom ego's mother calls *fakafotu*) and of females to the children of *tuonga'ane* (*fakafotu*).
No restraints—between *kui* and *mokopuna*.

These behavioral categories are based on the three principles of status outlined above: (1) those kinsmen who are related through the father have higher status than ego, while those related through the mother have lower status than ego; (2) females have higher status than male kinsmen of the same generation, which results in avoidance;[5] and (3) elder has higher status than younger among siblings of the same sex.[6]

The extension of these principles to the generation below ego results in the sister's children of a male ego being higher than his own. This category of person, his *'ilamutu* (children of his "sisters") are *fahu* to him. A *fahu* can take any of ego's possessions; for example, a *fahu* may go to ego's farm and take a pig without even asking for it. Ego is also expected to make ceremonial presentations to his *fahu*. (The closest English gloss for *fahu* is "above the law.") On the other hand, the children of ego and the children of his brothers are under his immediate direction, and he is responsible for their welfare and decisions, which he usually makes for them. Ego is not responsible in this way for his sister's children; her husband and his brothers have this responsibility. One's cross-cousins are not terminologically distinguished in ego's own generation. They are, however, distinguished in practice—ego's behavior to them is the same as the behavior of his parents, who do distinguish them terminologically. For example, if a cross-cousin is called *'ilamutu* by ego's father, ego treats this cross-cousin with the respect due to someone of higher rank, just as his father does.

These categories are determined by birth and do not change in an individual's lifetime. Even though a man may inherit a noble's title, together with a great deal of land and material wealth, he still avoids his sister, treats his brother nearly as an equal, defers to his father's sister and gives her anything she wants, demands pigs from his mother's brother, and allows his sister's children to take any of his possessions.

Let us use a funeral as an example of how these categories of individuals interact. When ego dies, three groups of people assemble.[7] Those of his father's kinsmen are *'eiki* (chief), those of his mother's side are *tu'a* (common),[8] his wife and her kinsmen are neither low nor high. Family

554 is based on a hierarchical ranking of persons. All interpersonal
[571] relationships are governed by the principles of rank. The arrange-
[595] ments of dancers in relation to each other and to the audience
reflects these principles.

554 The most important principle on which rank is based is a societal
565 division which differentiates chiefs from commoners. This is further
[643] refined in two ways: First, the most chiefly of chiefs is set apart
and he is known as Tu'i. Second, an intermediate class between chiefs
and commoners is matāpule, who are ceremonial attendants to the chiefs.

554 The second and third principles of rank are derived from the
593 ranking of siblings within the family. The most important of these is
that sisters outrank brothers. It is only after sex of siblings is
taken into account that elder outranks younger. Thus a girl of 12
554 years of age will outrank her brother of 20 years of age. The exten-
604 sion of these principles into the extended family results in sister's
[605] children outranking brother's children. Thus father's sister is the
highest ranking person to ego and mother's brother is lowest in
relation to ego. Ego can take what he likes from his mother's brother,
and must give everything he has to his father's sister.

565 The family ranking system has societal implications, for even the
554 highest chief will be outranked by his sister and his sister's
593 children will outrank his own. This dilemma at the top of the social
605 system was solved in two ways. One of the ancient traditional ways
644 was that a Tu'i's sister's child (usually the oldest daughter) had a
554

special title, Tamaha. A Tamaha was often married to a Fijian, or an individual of the societal division Ha'a Fale-Fisi, who although not full Fijian were considered Fijian. A second way to prevent a sister's children's children from outranking his own children's children, was for a Tu'i to have his son marry his sister's child. Cross-cousin marriage was not proscribed, prescribed, or preferred, but it was practiced to prevent social repercussions that might result if a Tu'i were outranked by a collateral line.

According to Tongan tradition, the first Tu'i Tonga of the present dynasty was born after the god Tangaloa Eitumatupua climbed down from the sky on a great casuarina tree and cohabited with a woman of the earlier Tongan population who had descended from a worm. The child of this union was Ahoeitu. When Ahoeitu was old enough he went to the sky to visit his father, and returned with several celestial half-brothers who became his matāpule, ceremonial attendants. Ahoeitu, half-man and half-god, lived over a thousand years ago (about 950) and from him the present King descends from a collateral line. The succeeding Tu'i Tonga who descended from Ahoeitu were born of the daughters of the highest chiefs in the land. Several Tu'i Tonga were assassinated and in about the fifteenth century the incumbent Tu'i Tonga appointed a subsidiary ruler, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua. The first Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was a younger brother of the 24th Tu'i Tonga. The Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was given only temporal power while the Tu'i Tonga retained for himself high rank and spiritual status.